

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

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S E C R E T STATE 123407

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (LINE OMITTED PARA 11)

POLLOWING SENT ACTION ANKARA INFO ISLAMABAD LONDON NOSCOW
NEW DELHI TEHRAN FROM SECSTATE JUNE 23 REPEATED FOR YOU:

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 123407

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CENTO, MARR

SUBJECT: SECVISIT/ CENTO: DEBATE ON ROLE OF CENTO

FOLLOWING IS CLEARED SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON ROLE OF CENTO
AT MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING IN TEHRAN.

1. AFTER SPEECHES ON OWN GOVERNMENT' S VIEW OF WORLD
SITUATION, EACH FOCUSING PRIMARILY ON CENTO' S ROLE IN REGION
AND PAKISTAN' S FUTURE ROLE IN CENTO, PAKISTANI MINSTATE
AHMED AND SECRETARY ROGERS EACH SPOKE IN REPLY. GENERAL
DISCUSSION FOLLOWED.

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2. TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER BAYULKEN SAID HE WAS HAPPY
TO HEAR SUCH SINCERE EXCHANGE . HE WAS SURE PAK SAGACITY
WOULD CONSIDER ALL THINGS. HE THEN OFFERED A " POSSIBLY
FAR- FETCHED SUGGESTION:" CENTO MEMBERS, ESPECIALLY ONE

WHO SUFFERED AS RESULT OF OTHER MATTERS, WERE INTERESTED IN EXPRESSION OF US CONCERN FOR THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. COULD WE LEAVE MEETING BELIEVING THAT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL MEMBERS WAS OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE, THAT IF ANY REGIONAL MEMBER WAS OBJECT OF OPEN AGGRESSION, THIS ORGANIZATION WOULD" SHOW ITS TEETH"? HE GRANTED THAT INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF MANY THINGS BY SELVES. FOR INSTANCE, IF ONE DID NOT SHOW SUFFICIENT CONCERN FOR SUBVERSION, ONE MIGHT NOT SEE COVERT AGGRESSION. BUT, TURK

MINISTER CONCLUDED, IF WE LEAVE HERE KNOWING WE ARE PROTECTED AGAINST NAKED AGGRESSION, THEN THIS WILL INDEED HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE MEETING.

4. BRITISH SECSTATE FCO REMINDED MINISTERS THAT VERY FEW PEOPLE IN EUROPE IMMEDIATELY POST- WW II, WHEN RUSSIA REVEALED ITS EXPANSION INTENTIONS, WOULD HAVE BELIEVED EUROPE COULD ESCAPE WITHOUT LOSING TERRITORY. YET NATO WAS CREATED AND NOT A YARD OF TERRITORY HAS BEEN LOST, NOT A SINGLE MAN' S LIFE HAS BEEN LOST.

5. IN BRITAIN, MANY QUESTION WHY BRITAIN SHOULD STAY IN SEATO, CENTO, NATO WHEN BRITAIN' S OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS WERE SO REDUCED AND HER NATIONAL BUDGET SO STRAINED. SUCCESSFUL ANSWER IS THAT BRITAIN HAS RETURNED UNITS TO SINGAPORE AND STILL HAS A MILITARY PRESENCE IN PERSIAN GULF. DETERRENT OF WEST PROBABLY SAVED IRAN, EVEN PAKISTAN. DOUGLAS- HOME HARKED BACK TO EARLIER SECSTATE REMARK AND SAID SUCH RESULT WAS " GREATEST THING IN OUR LIVES." FROM SUCH EXAMPLE, WE MUSTN' T EVEN THINK OF " DODGING ENTANGLEMENTS".

6. IN VERY BRIEF REBUTTAL TO PAK EXPRESSION OF COMPLETE DISTRUST OF INDIAN SINCERITY IN DESIRE FOR PEACE, SIR ALEC NOTED THAT INDIANS ARE " INDEPENDENT MINDED" AND
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IT WAS NOT IN THEIR CHARACTER TO LET THEMSELVES BECOME CONTROLLED BY SOVIETS. MRS. GANDHI HAS GONE ON PUBLIC RECORD THAT SHE SINCERELY DOES WISH TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES WITH PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN MUST NEGOTIATE TO PROVE THIS.

7. RETURNING TO CONCEPT OF ALLIANCE, BRITISH MINISTER URGED REGIONAL PARTNERS NOT TO UNDERESTIMATE DETERRENT OF WEST' S INTEREST IN THEIR WELL- BEING. BUT DIRECT MILITARY ATTACK SEEMED OUT OF PICTURE, AND ALLIANCE SHOULD MOVE ON TO CONSIDER HOW TO STRENGTHEN COUNTER-SUBVERSION. WEST MUST STILL WORK HARD TO HELP OTHS DEFEND SELVES THROUGH MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

8. PAK MINISTER INTERVENED AGAIN TO ASSURE MINISTERS PAKISTAN DID NOT RPT NOT DENY IMPORTANCE OF ALLIANCES,

BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL. BUT HE SAID MANY PEOPLE QUESTION PROMOTION OF PEACE BY MILITARY ALLIANCES. GOP DOES BELIEVE ALLIANCES HAVE VALUE, BUT HE FELT PROBLEM IN CENTO WAS NATURE RPT NATURE OF ALLIANCE, NOT RPT NOT PRINCIPLE. IT CAN BE DETERRENT BUT WAR IS PREVENTED BY MANY CONSIDERATIONS OF WHICH CENTO MAY HAVE BEEN ONE, BUT WAS NOT RPT NOT DECISIVE. ALSO NATO AND CENTO ARE DIFFERENT. CENTO CANNOT DO IN REGION WHAT NATO DID IN

EUROPE. WAY IN WHICH CENTO IS STRUCTURED, IT DID NOTHING RPT NOTHING WHEN IT WAS NEEDED.

9. MINISTER SAID HE WAS ALREADY CONSCIOUS OF FACTS PRESENTED BY US, GROWING ISOLATIONIST ATTITUDES, ESPECIALLY IN CONGRESS. IT WOULD BE MISFORTUNE FOR WORLD, HE SAID, IF ISOLATIONISM GOT UPPER HAND. PAKISTAN WOULD DO NOTHING TO EMBARRASS US. BUT CENTO AS PRESENTLY STRUCTURED, AS SHOWN BY PAST EXPERIENCE, IS INCAPABLE OF PROTECTING TERRITORY OF MEMBER. ONE HALF OF PAKISTAN DISAPPEARED AND CENTO DIDN' T EVEN FROWN, IT WAS UNABLE DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT, AT LEAST AS CENTO. HE ADMITTED US WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING QUICK END TO WAR.

10. PAKS WANT TO PUT TEETH IN CENTO. IT MUST BE RESTRUCTURED, IT MUST DEFINE ITS OBJECTIVES. MINISTER WOULD LIKE
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TO SEE CENTO STRENGTHENED BY DEFINING NEW KIND OF ALLIANCE, ALTHOUGH THAT MIGHT, OR EVEN WOULD, HAVE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR DETENTE.

11. SECRETARY ROGERS SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR PAK MINISTER TO KEEP IN MIND US POLICY ON ALLIANCES - ALL ALLIANCES. NATO IS DIFFERENT FROM CENTO. BUT IF ALLIANCES START TO UNWIND, MOST UNFORTUNATE SERIES OF EVENTS COULD START.

12. POLICY OF ALLIANCES GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL, SECRETARY SAID. THEY CANNOT SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS, BUT THEY DO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE, SO WHY CHANGE. IF THERE HAS BEEN MEASURE OF SUCCESS, ALLIANCE IS WORTH KEEPING. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO HAVE PUBLIC REDEFINITION OF ALLIANCE, BUT WE MUST SETTLE IN OUR OWN MINDS WHAT NEW DEFINITION WE WANT. IF POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR NOW REMOTE, SUBVERSION WILL GROW, SO LET US DEAL WITH THAT. BUT LET US DO IT IN SESSIONS LIKE THIS MINISTERIAL, NOT RPT NOT PUBLICLY. WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT TALK OF CENTO AS SINGLE ITEM, BUT AS PART OF AN ALLIANCE SYSTEM. IF WE ARE HAVING TROUBLE MAINTAINING THE ALLIANCE, LETS DEAL WITH OUR PROBLEMS AS QUIETLY AND EFFECTIVELY AS POSSIBLE.

13. AS DEBATE WOUND DOWN, SECRETARY ROGERS AND BRITISH MINISTER SUGGESTED INCLUSION IN FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF REAFFIRMATION OF ALLIANCE' S CONCERN FOR INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF MEMBER STATES. PAKISTANIS AND OTHER REGIONALS WERE VERY PLEASED TO AGREE AND APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE WAS INCLUDED.

14. TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE (TEHRAN 4156) AND TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY ROGERS' DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE AT AIRPORT (TEHRAN 4061) SHOULD READ IN COUNCTION WITH THIS AND PREVIOUS TELS. RUSH UNQUOTE. ROGERS

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